DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 244 296 CS 208 351

AUTHOR Salwen, Michael B.; Anderson, Ronald B.
TITLE The Uses and Gratifications of Supermarket Tabloid Reading by Different Demographic Groups.
PUB DATE Aug 84
NOTE 19p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (67th, Gainesville, FL, August 5-8, 1984).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Audience Analysis; Demography; Mass Media Effects; *Media Research; *Newspapers; *Reading Interests; Research Methodology; Use Studies
IDENTIFIERS *Tabloid Newspapers

ABSTRACT

A study employed a uses and gratifications approach to determine why people in different demographic groups read supermarket tabloids. One hundred thirty-three readers of the "National Enquirer," the "Star," or the "Globe" returned mail questionnaires distributed in three different demographic locations. The questionnaire examined such traditional uses as anticipated interpersonal communication, diversion, utility, escape, surveillance of society, and entertainment. The findings showed that there were considerable differences among respondents based on age, income, and education, but little difference by race or sex. The findings showed that older respondents with low incomes and low education were more likely to read the tabloids for surveillance of society, utility, escape, anticipated interpersonal communication, and diversion than other respondents. The majority of respondents in all age categories said they used the tabloid for entertainment. The results suggested that some of the stereotypes of tabloid readers as blue-collar workers and housewives were false or exaggerated. It was also suggested that what differences were found may have been due to differences in respondents' lifestyles. (HTH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

ED244296

THE USES AND GRATIFICATIONS OF SUPERMARKET TABLOID READING BY DIFFERENT DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Michael B. Salwen
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

By

Michael B. Salwen*
and
Ronald B. Anderson

College of Communication
Arts and Sciences
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

Paper presented to the Mass Communication and Society Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Florida, Gainsville, Florida, August 1984.

*Michael B. Salwen and Ronald B. Anderson are doctoral candidates in the Mass Media program at Michigan State University

CS208351

THE USES AND GRATIFICATIONS OF SUPERMARKET TABLOID READERS BY DIFFERENT DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS

While demographic variables such as age, income, education, race and sex have proven useful in predicting tabloid reading, they do not explain why people read them. This study employed a uses and gratifications approach to determine why people in different demographic groups read supermarket tabloids. To answer this research question, a purposive sample of readers was surveyed in three disparate demographic locations. In order to obtain a better demographic mix, university students were purposively included in the sample. The findings showed that there were considerable differences among respondents based on age, income, and education. However, there was little difference by race and sex. Older respondents with low income and low education were more likely to read the tabloids for surveillance of society, utilitarian purposes, escape and diversion than other respondents. Respondents in all demographic groups used the tabloids for entertainment. It was suggested that some of the prototypical stereotypes of tabloid readers that guided researchers in the past were false or exaggerated. It also was suggested that what differences were found may have been due to life style differences.

Popular characterizations of supermarket tabloid readers are less than flattering. Wanderer, in a recent review on cultural criticism, observed that many scholars and media critics have stereotyped images of the popular culture audience.[1] These stereotypes are often based on demographic and social class characteristics. Researchers have assumed that working class housewives[2] and blue-collar laborers[3] read the tabloids for such things as escape from boredom and drudgery,[4] reaffirmation of class values,[5] guidance in interpersonal relationships,[6] and learning celebrity gossip.[7] One

---

[1]Philip Wanderer. "Cultural Criticism," in Dan D. Nimmo and Keith R. Sanders, eds., Handbook of Political Communication (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981), pp. 497-528.

[2]L. Rainwater, R. P. Coleman and G. Handel, Workingman's Wife: Her Personality and Profile (New York: Oceana, 1959).

[3]A. B. Shostak, Blue-Collar Life (New York: Random House, 1969).

[4]Elihu Katz and David Foulkes, "The Use of Mass Media as 'Escape': Clarification of a Concept," Public Opinion Quarterly, 26: 377-388 (1962).

[5]George Gerbner, "The Social Role of the Confession Magazine," Social Problems, 6:29-4 (1959).

[6]Virginia Kidd, "Happily Ever After and Other Relationship Styles: Advice on Interpersonal Relations in Popular Magazines," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 61:31-39 (1975).

[7]Dan D. Nimmo and James E. Combs, Mediated Political Realities (New York: Longman, 1983); Charles Winick, "Celebrities' Errancy as a Subject for Journalism," Gazette, 7:329-334 (1962).

noted social critic and journalist, Tom Wolfe, described such publications as "aesthetique du schlock."[8]

Bogart, in a review of mass media use among blue-collar workers, expressed dissatisfaction with the assumption that media use is a function of demographic determinants. The relationship, he noted, is highly indirect. "Occupation tends to place an individual in a social setting which carries its own particular cultural environment... In a far less significant way, occupation may be said to affect media behavior, insofar as different types of work stress or tension call for different kinds of symbolic release."[9]

As Bogart suggested, an individual's cultural environment, and not individual demographic characteristics, explain media use patterns. There is little question, however, that demographic variables play a crucial role in shaping the individual's cultural environment. Evidence in support of this proposition was found by Graber in a recent in-depth study investigating how people process political news.[10] She suggested that information seeking was a function of life style which was related to such traditional demographic variables as age, sex, race, ethnicity and geographic location.

---

[8]Tom Wolfe, "The Purveyor of the Public Life," in Tom Wolfe, The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby (New York: Bantam Books, 1965), p. 159.

[9]Leo Bogart, "The Mass Media and the Blue-Collar Worker," in A.B. Shostak and W. Gomberg, eds., Blue-Collar World (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 419.

[10]Doris A. Graber, Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide (New York: Longman, 1984).

For example, she observed that men are just as likely to attend to stories about the plight and frailties of the human condition as women when their life experiences and socialization processes are similar. On the other hand, widows in Graber's sample adopted news seeking behavior similar to men after their husbands died. These women who had depended upon their husbands for news surveillance suddenly found themselves performing this role as a result of adopting male life style news-processing patterns.

In addition to the dissatisfaction with the simple underlying assumption that media use is a function of demographic characteristics, some critics have expressed dissatisfaction with the almost exclusive focus on the lower classes.[11] Much of the frequently cited research on tabloid readers was conducted in the 1950s and 1960s when social class differences were more distinct.[12] As Welles observed, in order to appeal to the rapidly rising middle class during the late 1960s the raunchy National Enquirer changed its editorial format and content:

> A veritable encyclopedia of "I Ate My Baby" violence and perversion, the Enquirer of the 1950s and 1960s was, in many ways, the last survivor of the once robust breed of sensationalistic American tabloids, such as the New York Mirror and Graphic. As the taste, sophistication, and educational level of the American public rose, the tabloids had starved to death. Fighting hard to retain its circulation of one million, then derived almost entirely from news-stand sales, the Enquirer realized that its traditional blue-collar audience was dwindling compared to the rapidly expanding middle class. To reach the middle class and to obtain rack space at suburban retail check-out counters, the Enquirer in 1968 dramatically transformed itself into

---

[11] J.M. Lewis, "The differentiation of popular culture audiences," Journal of Popular Culture, 11:425-435 (1977).

[12] Op. cit. footnotes 2, 3 and 9.

> a compendium of celebrity gossip, self-help, and moral uplift. While more benign, the new format was enormously more successful. Enquirer readership climbed sixfold.[13]

Little research has been conducted on why people in different social and demographic groups read the supermarket tabloids. The uses and gratifications approach to mass communications lends itself well to explaining why people in different social strata read these publications.[14] The approach maintains that individuals' environments create certain needs which lead to certain reasons to "use" media content. It assumes that people are active information seekers rather than passive receptors of media fare. It further assumes that people have well-established needs for exposing themselves to media content, and these needs can be elicited from respondents by asking them with well-structured questions.[15]

The only published empirical study on supermarket tabloid readers showed that people do "use" the tabloids to gratify specific needs.[16] The researchers used Q-sort analysis on a purposive sample of 38 respondents and identified three types of readers: 1) Intent diversion seekers, who read the tabloids for entertainment and take their search for entertainment seriously; 2) distracted information collectors, who believe what they read and use the information for interpersonal discussion; and 3) selfish

---

[13]Chris Welles, "The Americanization of Rupert Murdoch," Esquire, May 22, 1979, p. 56.

[14]Elihu Katz, "Mass Communications Research and the Study of Popular Culture: An Editorial Note on the Possible Future of this Journal," Studies in Public Communication, 2:1-6 (1959).

[15]Elihu Katz and Michael Gurevitch, The Secularization of Leisure: Culture and Communication in Israel (London: Faber & Faber, 1976).

[16]Eileen Lehnert and Mary J. Perpich, "An Attitude Segmentation Study of Supermarket Tabloid Readers," Journalism Quarterly, 59:104-111 (1982).

believers, who believe what they read but do not share the information. Because of the small sample size, subanalyses could not be performed on demographic groups.

The literature review has shown that researchers have stereotyped images of supermarket tabloid readers based largely on demogrpahic characteristics. If they took into account the reasons readers used the tabloids at all, they assumed that people of low social class read them to gratify such needs as to escape and to eavesdrop on celebrity gossip. While social categories such as age, sex, income and occupation may be useful in predicting supermarket tabloid reading, they do not explain why people read them. With the rapid rise of the middle class in the late 1960s and the subsequent editorial changes by the tabloids to appeal to these readers, the need to explain why people in different demographic groups read the supermarket tabloids becomes all the more important. Therefore, this study will attempt to answer the following general research question:

> What reasons do people in different demographic groups have to "use" the supermarket tabloids?

METHOD

Stamped, self-addressed mail questionnaires were distributed to 264 people in parking lots of area shopping malls, supermarkets and factories in East Lansing, Michigan; Perth Amboy, New Jersey; and Patterson, New Jersey, from July 1983 to January 1984 to anyone who said they read the National Enquirer, the Star or the Globe, or any combination of those publications, even if only occasionally. Many of the readers contacted in this study were unlike the regular or frequent readers studied in other research. They included people who read them in the supermarket shopping

lines and when they came across them in Laundromats as well as frequent and regular readers. The three tabloids examined have a combined weekly circulation of almost 10 million, most of which are sold in supermarkets, drugstores and convenience stores.[17] They were also the same publications examined by Lehnert and Perpich in their groundbreaking study, and by using the same papers there is some degree of replication.[18]

The purposive sample makes no pretense to being representative of the population of supermarket tabloid readers. The purpose was to obtain a wide range of demographic groups to understand why people in different demographic groups read the tabloids. The different geographic locations were selected to obtain a demographic mix. The Michigan site is the home of a major Midwestern university (Michigan State) with many white-collar professionals. The two New Jersey locations are blue-collar, ethnic communities. Because the early responses coming in showed that respondents tended to be old and low in income and education, questionnaires were given to 34 undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan State University who said they read any one or more of the tabloids to increase the demographic mix. A total of 133 responses were collected when data collection ceased in late January, for a response rate of 45 percent.

The eight-page questionnaire consisted of "uses" statements culled from the literature on uses and gratifications that appeared applicable to this study. Many of the statements were taken from focus group studies

---

[17] Magazine Publisher's Statements. Audit Bureau of Circulations, June 30, 1980.

[18] Op. cit., Lehnert and Perpich.

conducted by the Star.[19] Respondents were asked whether they agreed, disagreed or held an in-between ("so-so") opinion to each statement. The study examined such traditional uses as anticipated interpersonal communication ("Reading it gives me good information for conversations with other people"), diversion ("Reading it gives me a way to spend my free time"), utility ("It's full of helpful hints that I find useful"), escape ("Reading it allows me to forget about my own problems"), surveillance of society ("It allows me to understand what is going on in the world") and entertainment ("I chuckle or laugh once in awhile as I read it").[20]

RESULTS

Since the research question asked why people in different demographic groups "use" the supermarket tabloids, chi-square statistics comparing the uses of interpersonal communication, diversion, utility, escape, surveillance of society and entertainment were examined by respondents in five different demographic groups: age, income, sex, race and education. Each of the demographic groups will be discussed separately.

Age: All six "uses" in this group attained statistical significance at the .01 level or above. The findings showed that older respondents were likely to use the supermarket tabloids for surveillance of society, utility, escape, anticipated interpersonal communication and diversion than the younger respondents. Although older respondents were more likely to disagree with the entertainment statement than younger respondents, the great majority of respondents in all age categories said they used the supermarket

---

[19]"The Star Reader: A Qualitative Perspective," Unpublished report prepared by D'Amato Research, Inc., for News Group Publications, Inc., 1982.

[20]Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1974).

tabloids for entertainment. A large proportion of the younger respondents also used the tabloids for anticipated communication and diversion. Only a small proportion of the respondents age 34 or younger used the tabloids for surveillance of society or utility (see Table 1).

Income: Four of the six uses in this group were statistically significant at the .05 level or above. The low-income respondents were far more likely to use the tabloids for surveillance of society than the high-income respondents. The low-income respondents were also more likely to use the tabloids for utilitarian purposes, escape and diversion than the high-income respondents. The great majority of respondents in all income groups used the tabloids for entertainment (see Table 2).

Sex: Only two of the six uses in this group attained statistical significance at the .05 level or above. Contrary to the stereotype that women use the tabloids for gossip, male respondents were more likely to use the supermarket tabloids for anticipated interpersonal communication than women. In general, there were few differences between the sexes to explain why respondents read tabloids. A large proportion of both the male and female respondents used the tabloids for entertainment (see Table 3).

Race: Only one of the six uses in this group attained statistical significance at the .05 level. Nonwhite respondents said they were more likely to use the tabloids for surveillance of soceity than white respondents. The majority of both the white and nonwhite respondents used the tabloids for anticipated communication, diversion and entertainment (see Table 4).

Education: Five of the six uses in this group attained statistical significance at the .05 level or above. The less educated respondents

were far more likely to use the tabloids for surveillance of society than the highly educated respondents. The low-educated respondents were also more likely to use the tabloids for utilitarian purposes, escape, anticipated interpersonal communication and diversion than the high-educated respondents. All respondents in this demographic category used the tabloids for entertainment (see Table 5).

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to determine whether respondents in different demographic groups used supermarket tabloids for different purposes. Marked differences were found among respondents by age, education and income. Few differences, however, were found among respondents by sex and race.

An underlying purpose of this study was to test the validity of some of the commonly held stereotypes about supermarket tabloid readers. Some of these stereotypes were shown to be false or exaggerated. However, the findings also showed that at least with a few demographic variables the stereotypes held true.

One plausible explanation for these differences among demographic groups might be life style. Life style differences generate needs for particular information. Demographic variables are closely associated with life style. Whether one is male or female, rich or poor, young or old, single with few obligations or married with many, all impact on life style.

In the present sample, age, education and income exhibited some of the prototypical stereotypes of low-brow popular culture consumers. The general picture that emerged was one of older respondents, low in

education and income, who used the supermarket tabloids to understand what is going on in the world, escape from life's daily problems, seek diversion and for utilitarian purposes. As with all respondents, they used the supermarket tabloids for entertainment.

Depending on one's interpretation, the escape, diversion and utilitarian functions can be beneficial. To these respondents, who are likely to be unskilled and semi-skilled workers who need vicarious escape after exhausting and often repetitive work days and senior citizens who need diversion to occupy their time, the supermarket tabloids apparently gratify these needs. However, the fact that these respondents use the tabloids for surveillance of society may be dysfunctional. Further research should investigate to what extent these respondents rely on the media to gratify their surveillance need. Hopefully, they supplement their need with more traditional news outlets. Unfortunately, the present study did not investigate whether that was the case.

Younger respondents who were high in income and education generally used the tabloids to gratify their entertainment need. This would suggest that many of these respondents use the supermarket tabloids as a lark, much as they would an action adventure film or TV soap opera. A sizable proportion of these respondents also used the tabloids for anticipated communication and diversion, which goes along with entertainment.

What is striking about these respondents is how few use the supermarket tabloids to gratify their need for surveillance of society. It is likely that these respondents have more traditional news outlets available to them to gratify their need. Generally, a small proportion of these respondents used the tabloids for utility and escape.

The variables of sex and race showed few differences. With the sex variable in particular, the finding differs sharply with the past research of the 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps these findings reflect the mainstreaming of women and nonwhites into American society. According to Graber's life style approach, as women and nonwhites move up society's ladder, they attain the same informational needs as men and whites.

Finally it is worth examining the need that all respondents had in common: entertainment. Across all demographic groups, entertainment had the highest percentage response for all media use variables. Although the supermarket tabloids ostensibly report news, they report it in an entertaining way. And although they may not be doing a good job in reporting the news, at least according to the respondents who rate the tabloids low in surveillance, all respondents rate the tabloids high in entertainment.

Future research should examine other uses and demographic variables that may explain why people in different demographic groups read supermarket tabloids. Longitudinal research should also investigate whether these uses among demographic groups change as economic and social conditions among group members change.

TABLE 1.--Percent Using Tabloids for Surveillance, Utility, Escape, Entertainment, Anticipated Communication, and Diversion by Age

	Age				
	24 or Less	25 - 34	35 - 49	50 or More	Row Totals
Surveillance					
Agree	0%	4%	25%	52%	26%
In-Between	14	29	30	30	25
Disagree	86	67	45	18	49
	n = 35	n = 24	n = 20	n = 54	N = 133
	X^2 = 51.73	df = 6	p < .001		
Utility					
Agree	9%	17%	25%	80%	41%
In-Between	20	33	45	11	23
Disagree	71	50	30	9	36
	n = 35	n = 24	n = 20	n = 54	N = 133
	X^2 = 66.37	df = 6	p < .001		
Escape					
Agree	17%	25%	30%	71%	42%
In-Between	43	58	45	22	38
Disagree	40	17	25	7	20
	n = 35	n = 24	n = 20	n = 54	N = 133
	X^2 = 35.97	df = 6	p < .001		
Entertainment					
Agree	91%	96%	80%	87%	89%
In-Between	9	0	15	0	4
Disagree	0	4	5	13	7
	n = 35	n= 24	n = 20	n = 54	N = 133
	X^2 = 15.79	df = 6	p < .01		
Anticipated Communication					
Agree	32%	42%	65%	74%	56%
In-Between	17	21	20	13	16
Disagree	51	37	15	13	28
	n = 35	n = 24	n = 20	n = 54	N = 133
	X^2 = 22.26	df = 6	p < .001		
Diversion					
Agree	40%	37%	30%	72%	51%
In-Between	20	46	40	19	27
Disagree	40	17	30	9	22
	n = 35	n = 24	n = 20	n = 54	N = 133
	X^2 = 24.74	df = 6	p < .001		

TABLE 2.--Percent Using Tabloids for Surveillance, Utility, Escape, Entertainment, Anticipated Communication, and Diversion by Income

	Income			
	25,000 or Less	25,000 to 45,000	45,000 or More	Row Totals
Surveillance				
Agree	39%	5%	0%	26%
In-Between	26	28	17	25
Disagree	35	67	83	49
	n = 82	n = 39	n = 12	N = 133
	χ^2 = 24.23	df = 4	p < .001	
Utility				
Agree	53%	31%	0%	41%
In-Between	23	15	42	23
Disagree	24	54	58	36
	n = 82	n = 39	n = 12	N = 133
	χ^2 = 19.46	df = 4	p < .01	
Escape				
Agree	48%	36%	25%	42%
In-Between	40	31	42	38
Disagree	12	33	33	20
	n = 82	n = 39	n = 12	N = 133
	χ^2 = 9.38	df = 4	p < .05	
Entertainment				
Agree	88%	87%	100%	89%
In-Between	2	10	0	4
Disagree	10	3	0	7
	n = 82	n = 39	n = 12	N = 133
	χ^2 = 7.27	df = 4	n.s.	
Anticipated Communication				
Agree	62%	49%	33%	56%
In-Between	16	13	33	16
Disagree	22	38	34	28
	n = 82	n = 39	n = 12	N = 133
	χ^2 = 7.17	df = 4	n.s.	
Diversion				
Agree	61%	38%	25%	51%
In-Between	20	31	67	27
Disagree	19	31	8	22
	n = 82	n = 39	n = 12	N = 133
	χ^2 = 15.89	df = 4	p < .05	

TABLE 3.--Percent Using Tabloids for Surveillance, Utility, Escape, Entertainment, Anticipatory Communication, and Diversion by Sex

	Sex		Row Totals
	Male	Female	
Surveillance			
Agree	27%	26%	26%
In-Between	26	24	25
Disagree	47	50	49
	n = 34	n = 98	N = 132
	X^2 = .093	df = 2	n.s.
Utility			
Agree	41%	41%	41%
In-Between	6	29	23
Disagree	53	30	36
	n = 34	n = 98	N = 132
	X^2 = 9.17	df = 2	p < .01
Escape			
Agree	41%	42%	42%
In-Between	27	42	38
Disagree	32	16	20
	n = 34	n = 98	N = 132
	X^2 = .830	df = 2	n.s.
Entertainment			
Agree	85%	90%	89%
In-Between	6	4	4
Disagree	9	6	7
	n = 34	n = 98	N = 132
	X^2 = .830	df = 2	n.s.
Anticipated Communication			
Agree	62%	53%	55%
In-Between	3	21	17
Disagree	35	26	28
	n = 34	n = 98	N = 132
	X^2 = 6.38	df = 2	p < .05
Diversion			
Agree	41%	55%	52%
In-Between	32	25	27
Disagree	27	20	22
	n = 34	n = 98	N = 132
	X^2 = 1.96	df = 2	n.s.

TABLE 4.--Percent Using Tabloids for Surveillance, Utility, Escape, Entertainment, Anticipated Communication, and Diversion by Race

	Race		Row Totals
	White	Nonwhite	
Surveillance			
Agree	23%	54%	27%
In-Between	25	13	24
Disagree	52	33	27
	n = 108	n = 15	N = 123
	X^2 = 6.14	df = 2	p < .05
Utility			
Agree	41%	53%	42%
In-Between	19	27	20
Disagree	40	20	38
	n = 108	n = 15	N = 123
	X^2 = 2.21	df = 2	n.s.
Escape			
Agree	40%	47%	41%
In-Between	39	26	37
Disagree	21	27	22
	n = 108	n = 15	N = 123
	X^2 = .851	df = 2	n.s.
Entertainment			
Agree	87%	93%	88%
In-Between	5	7	5
Disagree	8	0	7
	n = 108	n = 15	N = 123
	X^2 = 1.42	df = 2	n.s.
Anticipated Communication			
Agree	57%	60%	58%
In-Between	15	7	14
Disagree	28	33	28
	n = 108	n = 15	N = 123
	X^2 = .790	df = 2	n.s.
Diversion			
Agree	50%	53%	50%
In-Between	27	27	27
Disagree	23	20	23
	n = 108	n = 15	N = 123
	X^2 = .086	df = 2	n.s.

TABLE 5.--Percent Using Tabloids for Surveillance, Utility, Escape, Entertainment, Anticipatory Communication, and Diversion by Education

	Education			
	Less than High School	High School and Some College	College and More	Row Totals
Surveillance				
Agree	56%	19%	3%	22%
In-Between	21	24	33	23
Disagree	23	57	64	55
	n = 39	n = 58	n = 36	N = 133
	X^2 = 31.83	df = 4	p < .001	
Utility				
Agree	72%	48%	31%	41%
In-Between	13	21	33	23
Disagree	15	31	36	36
	n = 39	n = 58	n = 36	N = 133
	X^2 = 11.73	df = 4	p < .01	
Escape				
Agree	56%	43%	25%	42%
In-Between	26	33	58	38
Disagree	18	24	17	20
	n = 39	n = 58	n = 36	N = 133
	X^2 = 11.13	df = 4	p < .05	
Entertainment				
Agree	77%	93%	94%	89%
In-Between	10	2	3	4
Disagree	13	5	3	7
	n = 39	n = 58	n = 36	N = 133
	X^2 = 8.13	df = 4	n.s.	
Anticipated Communication				
Agree	69%	55%	42%	56%
In-Between	18	17	14	16
Disagree	13	28	44	28
	n = 39	n = 58	n = 36	N = 133
	X^2 = 9.50	df = 4	p < .05	
Diversion				
Agree	64%	55%	31%	51%
In-Between	10	26	47	27
Disagree	26	19	22	22
	n = 39	n = 58	n = 36	N = 133
	X^2 = 14.43	df = 4	p < .05	